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Message Text

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DRAFTED BY NEA/INS:RFOBER,JR.:SLB
APPROVED BY MR.DUBS
S - MR. DAVID PASSAGE
S/S - MR.BRIDGES
---------- 072923
O 011850Z SEP 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 216901

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IN

SUBJECT: THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR

1. SUMMARY: INDIAN AMBASSADOR KAUL MET WITH THE SECRETARY ON AUGUST 25. KAUL INQUIRED ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S RECENT VISIT TO SOUTH ASIA AND EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT AMERICAN ACTIONS IN THE ARMS AREA WHICH MIGHT RESULT IN "DESTABILI-ZING" THE REGION. THE SECRETARY ASSURED KAUL THAT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES GOVERNING U.S. POLICY IN SOUTH ASIA REMAIN THE SAME AS THOSE ENUNCIATED IN DELHI IN OCTOBER 1974, AND WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN PLAYING ONE COUNTRY OFF AGAINST ANOTHER. KAUL COMPLAINED THAT INDIA CONTINUES TO BE MALIGNED IN THE UNITED STATES AND MADE A "SCAPEGOAT" FOR VARIOUS ILLS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SECRETARY RECEIVED INDIAN AMBASSADOR KAUL IN VIEW OF KAUL'S PLANS TO RETURN TO DELHI IN EARLY OCTOBER. (THE DEPARTMENT HAS RECEIVED A DIPLOMATIC NOTE FROM THE INDIAN EMBASSY DATED AUGUST 23 REQUESTING AGREMENT FOR FORMER CONFIDENTIAL

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FOREIGN SECRETARY KEWAL SINGH AS THE NEW INDIAN AMBASSADOR.)

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ECONOMIC MINISTER BAIJAL AND FIRST SECRETA Y RAJAN ACCOM-
PANIED KAUL AND NEA ACTING SECRETARY DUBS
SAT IN. AFTER WELCOMING KAUL, THE SECRETARY
COMMENTED BRIEFLY ON HIS RECENT MEETING IN NEW YORK WITH
DR. JAGOTA, THE HEAD OF THE INDIAN LOS DELEGATION.

THE SECRETARY ALLUDED TO THE
TIME PRESSURES OPERATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND HIS
CONCERN THAT IF MATTERS ARE NOT RESOLVED BY THE END OF
CONGRESS' NEXT SESSION IN MARCH, THE OUTCOME IS DUBIOUS.
KAUL COMMENTED THAT MOST PROBLEMS ARE TECHNICAL, BUT THE
DEVELOPED COUNTRIES HAVE THE NECESSARY TECHNOLOGY AND THE
LDCS DO NOT.

3. KAUL ASKED THE SECRETARY FOR HIS IMPRESSIONS FROM HIS
PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN VISITS. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED
THERE IS SOME IMPROVEMENT IN PAK-AFGHAN RELATIONS.

THE SECRETARY SAID HE ALSO FOUND A
GREATER AWARENESS ON THE PART OF BHUTTO FOR THE NEED TO
HAVE CONSTRUCTIVE TALKS WITH INDIA. KAUL PRAISED THE
SECRETARY FOR HIS SOBERING INFLUENCE ON THE REGION, AND
EXPRESSED HOPE THAT HE WOULD CONTINUE TO INFLUENCE THE
SITUATION IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION. KAUL WAS ASSURED THAT
THE BASIC PRINCIPLES GOVERNING U.S. POLICY IN SOUTH ASIA
WHICH THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED DURING HIS 1974 VISIT TO
DELHI REMAIN UNCHANGED, THAT WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN PLAY-
ING ONE COUNTRY OFF AGAINST ANOTHER. ANY EFFORTS TO FIND
PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS WOULD HAVE OUR ENCOURAGEMENT.

4. THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR SAID HIS GOVERNMENT FEARED THE
UNINTENDED RESULTS OF AMERICAN ACTIONS WHICH WOULD HAVE
THE RESULT OF "DESTABILIZING" THE REGION,FOR EXAMPLE,
ACTIONS SUCH AS THE SUPPLY OF A-7 AIRCRAFT. KAUL SAID HE
UNDERSTOOD THERE WAS A COMPROMISE FORMULA IN THE WORKS ON
THE SUPPLY OF A-7S AND THE PAKISTANI AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE
FOR A NUCLEAR REPROCESSING PLANT. THE SECRETARY ASSURED
KAUL THAT ARMS SUPPLIES TO THE AREA HAVE BEEN KEPT TO
MODERATE PROPORTIONS.

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5. KAUL COMPLAINED THAT INDIA IS BEING MADE "A SCAPEGOAT"
FOR NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, ISRAEL,
AND SO FORTH. THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED PUZZLEMENT AT THE
REFERENCE TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND ISRAEL, THEN REMINDED
KAUL THAT THE INDIAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSION CREATED PROFOUND
APPREHENSION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ON PROLIFERATION. KAUL
NOTED THAT INDIAN AEC HEAD SETHNA WAS COMING TO WASHINGTON
SHORTLY TO "ASSUAGE THE APPREHENSION". TO KAUL'S FURTHER

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EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN THAT INDIA WAS BEING MALIGNED IN THE U.S., IN THE MEDIA AND ON THE HILL, THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD MADE NO COMMENTS ON THE SUBJECT OF THE EMERGENCY. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE HAD BEEN REPEATED ATTACKS IN THE INDIAN PRESS ON THE U.S., ALLEGATIONS ABOUT CIA ACTIVITIES, ETC., AND SUCH ATTACKS CONTINUED UNDER CENSORSHIP.KAUL EXPLAINED THAT SOME PAPERS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ANTI-AMERICAN, LIKE BLITZ AND THE PATRIOT, BUT THE OTHERS ARE NOT, AND AN ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE NOT TO HAVE SUCH CRITICISM IN RECENT MONTHS.

6. THE SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE NO MAJOR CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS OR PROBLEMS OF WHICH HE IS AWARE. KAUL CONCURRED, ADDING THAT PERHAPS ONLY THE METHODS OF ENSURING OUR SECURITY ARE DIFFERENT. BUT WHAT WAS LACKING,IN KAUL'S VIEW, WAS A DIALOGUE, PERHAPS AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS. THE SECRETARY SUMMARIZED FOR KAUL THE CHANGING AMERICAN ATTITUDES ABOUT INDIA, BEGINNING WITH THE SENTIMENTALITY OF THE 1950S WHICH CREATED THE IMPRESSION THAT INDIA WAS GOVERNED BY SAINTS. THERE WAS A RELUCTANCE AT THAT TIME TO DEAL WITH INDIA AS A FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEM.

7. KAUL TURNED TO BANGLADESH, SAYING THE SITUATION CREATED APPREHENSIONS IN INDIA. MOREOVER ADMIRAL KHAN'S PERFORMANCE (IN CONNECTION WITH HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON) HAD BEEN A DISAPPOINTMENT, IN THAT HE HAD GIVEN PROMINENCE TO THE FARAKKA PROBLEM AND ASKED FOR ARMS. THE SECRETARY TOLD KAUL THE U.S. RECOGNIZED THAT BANGLADESH AND INDIA HAVE TO COEXIST PEACEFULLY, WHICH COULD NOT BE DONE THROUGH A POLICY OF CREATING MILITARY BALANCES. AT THE SAME TIME, THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE MOST UNHAPPY IF INDIA SHOULD ATTACK BANGLADESH. KAUL REPLIED BY SAYING CONFIDENTIAL

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INDIA HOPED "THEY" WOULD NOT REPEAT 1971, FORCING OUT MILLIONS OF PEOPLE INTO INDIA OR FORCING A SITUATION WHICH THREATENED INDIA. OTHERWISE THERE WAS NO POSSIBILITY OF INDIA BECOMING SO INVOLVED.

THE SECRETARY REITERATED THAT THE U.S. HAS NOTHING TO GAIN BY PLAYING ONE POWER OFF AGAINST ANOTHER IN SOUTH ASIA, BUT ALSO DOES NOT WANT ANY OUTSIDE POWER TO HAVE EXCLUSIVE INFLUENCE IN THE AREA.

8. ON THE NON-ALIGNED MEETING IN COLOMBO, KAUL ASSURED THAT INDIA'S ROLE REMAINS THAT OF A MODERATE, BUT HE EXPLAINED SOME QUESTIONS ARE NONETHELESS DECIDED BY CONSENSUS. KAUL ASKED SEVERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SITUATION IN KOREA, U.S.-PRC RELATIONS, AND U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARDS

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VIETNAM. HE OBSERVED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE INDO-U.S. JOINT COMMISSION WAS MAKING AS MUCH PROGRESS AS IT SHOULD, AND ASSERTED WITHOUT OFFERING ANY SPECIFICS THAT INDIA WAS PREPARED TO GO MUCH FURTHER ON MATTERS OF TRADE AND SCHOLARSHIP GRANTS. IN CONCLUSION, KAUL THANKED THE SECRETARY FOR HIS COURTESY AND KINDNESSES, AND THE SECRETARY COMMENTED IN REPLY THAT HE CONSIDERED THEIR PERSONAL RELATIONS REMAIN GOOD EVEN THOUGH DUTY SOMETIMES OBLIGATES THEM TO SAY THINGS IN FURTHERANCE OF THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENT'S INTERESTS. ROBINSON

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